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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART VIII

"RESURGENT CHAUVINISM"

(10 Dec 1934 - 15 Feb 1935)

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Master
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SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

Chapter 159
(10 December 1934)

The Seiyukai Outwitted

Translated by T/Sgt. Shigeo Fukuyama

On the 3rd, the general meeting on the budget was in a state of dissension and the Seiyukai was plotting to prolong this meeting as long as possible. It appeared that if the Government did not meet this situation with the determination of dissolving the meeting, the attainment of their first objective would be very difficult.

That night about 9:30 I met AKITA at MATSUDAIRA's place, and he told me that for all practical purposes, KUHARA appeared to be the President of today's Seiyukai, and that SUZUKI was more or less acting only as an Honorary President; and that although it may be doing SUZUKI an injustice, he may well be looked upon as a politician of low intelligence. He continued:

"KUHARA has KAWAMURA, MIYAI, KINOSHITA and YOSHIZAWA back of him, and they are working toward crushing the moderates like MAEDA. The situation is the same as that of HATOYAMA of long ago. There are men in the present Diet, and especially in the circles of the budget meeting, who are showing resentment, because the attitude toward TAKAHASHI and the method of the attack is very bad. I believe that with the state of affairs in the existing political parties, the country's administration cannot be saved. With no selfish motive in mind, but for the sake of the country, I truly wish to organize a new political party and to set it up as reference for the people. In establishing this impartial party, I think that I can get at least 30 or 40 men.

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With the help of MAYEDA, I believe I can easily get 150 members of the Seiyukai who are anti-KUHARA and anti-SUZUKI, with TAKAHASHI and TOKONAMI as their nucleus. From the Minseito, outside of the TOMITA group, nearly all of them will join, and if these 3 new groups join hands, they will be far superior to the anti-Government parties. Because KUHARA's motive behind the coalition of the Seiyukai and the Minseito was to use this as an organ to intimidate the Genro and Senior statesmen, I believe that at first I would like UGAKI to head this new organization. UGAKI had insinuated that even if he ever participated, he would never join hands with KUHARA. Although TOMITA and KUHARA had the same objective in mind in supporting UGAKI, UGAKI's attitude changed and KUHARA abandoned him. New movement like this presents a good opportunity to dissolve the Diet, and it is desirable to have the Premier act accordingly."

AKITA's views concerning the Army and Navy are quite different from ours. There have been telegrams from Yosuke MATSUOKA to AKITA urgently calling upon him to rouse himself to action. It appears that the MATSUOKA circles are deeply impressed by the self-sacrificing efforts of TAKAHASHI. It appears also that AKITA is trying to approach the Army through ARAKI. AKITA wanted to let the Genro and the Senior statesmen know just how determined he was. We talked about many more things and it was past 1:00 o'clock when I left MATSUDAIRA's place.

The Government was not able to do anything against the Seiyukai's policy of prolonging the meeting. It sent Count KODAMA to negotiate with Committee Chairman SHIMADA. They settled everything and it appeared as if the meeting

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would be closed by the end of the 3rd. However, this story leaked out and the Seiyukai started raising trouble again; finally, at 6:00 p.m. of the 4th, the Government decided to let the Seiyukai do as it pleased, and taking on a non-resistance policy, it petitioned for a 3 day extension of the meeting. The questions became slow and did not proceed at all, and more and more ignorant and senseless questions were being raised. This became more and more disgusting to the more sincere members at the meeting.

In the budget meeting on the 5th, the representative of the Seiyukai, Takeshi AZUMA, presented mathematical calculations and declared that the 200 million yen appropriation by the Government for the disaster rehabilitation plan was insufficient, and that they should appropriate another 180 million yen for the year 1934-1935. Furthermore, he demanded that the Government make a clear-cut answer as to whether or not it would accept this, and not an answer that they were merely considering it. If the Government did not make a definite answer, they would suspend deliberation on the budget. Because AZUMA came out in such a challenging attitude, there was a complete change in the political situation.

This attitude taken by the Seiyukai against the Government in demanding an increase in the rehabilitation appropriation was not for the purpose of aiding the suffering people, but it was its last ditch stand in trying to overthrow the Cabinet. This action was planned by KUHARA, and put into effect by AZUMA without the knowledge of the leaders of the Seiyukai. Actually, the Seiyukai was very surprised at this action; nevertheless, in the

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special session of the Cabinet on the 6th, it adopted an all-out plan of rejection in regard to the demands made by the Seiyukai. The Cabinet met and conveyed this to Committee Chairman SHIMADA, and made clear the attitude to be taken by the Government. If the Seiyukai still persisted in maintaining its attitude, they had decided to dissolve the Diet with one stroke. The members of the Seiyukai, who saw this turn of events, became confused and started a cry of dissent against the KUHARA group.

I met and talked frequently with the Premier, the Minister of Home Affairs, and Railway Minister UCHIDA, and it appears that the various ministries have formed a consolidated front. The Premier has not come out forcibly in favor of the dissolution, and the senior politicians, such as MACHIDA and TOKONAMI, are in favor of passing this disaster rehabilitation budget. Although there were many who wanted to avoid the dissolution if it were at all possible, they said that the present situation presented no alternative, so they all decided upon the dissolution. The Government ordered the hastening of the deliberation on the budget as their final ultimatum to the Seiyukai, and representing the cabinet, Chief Cabinet Secretary YOSHIDA, presented the following note to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, AKITA:

"From what I have heard, I understand that the general meeting on the budget has adjourned as of this evening. As the close of the session draws near, I beg of you to use scrupulous care in the conduct of the proceedings."

About 9:00 o'clock that night AKITA had a meeting with YOSHIDA and told him that he was aware of the ultimatum issued by the Government, and that he would do his

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utmost in regard to this ultimatum. As a result, AKITA met Committee Chairman SHIMADA and had a meeting of the directors of the budget committee to deliberate on this question. The Seiyukai decided to commit itself to the decisions of its President, SUZUKI. However, the decisions of President SUZUKI are beyond the range of possibilities. He would become strong if he had strong-minded men behind him, and weak-kneed if he had moderates behind him. He could not make any decisions himself, therefore he discussed everything with the senior members of the Seiyukai.

As its answer to the Seiyukai, it was useless for the Government to keep repeating this to AZUMA, and since they were not going to do as the Seiyukai had demanded, they had no alternative but to repulse it. Although the ideas of its President changed several times, because of its repeated humiliation the Seiyukai gave in completely to the Government. As for its questions regarding the budget meeting, the Seiyukai presented the contents of its decisions; and not asking for a direct answer from the Government, it proposed to draw an answer by means of leading questions in the form of the Committee Chairman's speech. Regardless of the contents of the Government's answer, it recognized the advantages in affirming the Committee Chairman's speech, and tried thus to save the honor of the Seiyukai.

On the one hand, the Government had declared that it would not budge from its decision regarding the first meeting on the budget. Regardless of the fact that it had shown an inclination to favor the dissolution, it realized that if it stuck steadfastly to its first decision, when it came to the general meeting the situation

would become very grave. Therefore, it assumed a compromising attitude and Premier OKADA declared that there was something left unsaid in the last meeting of the main committee. With this promise, he added that a constitutional government is ruled by the people's will, and in a parliamentary government it is also absolutely necessary for the people's will to be reflected in the administration. Therefore, taking into serious consideration the existing situation, the Government would devote itself heart and soul to serious deliberation upon the measures to be taken.

The above statement by the Premier could be taken to mean that he was trying to save the Seiyukai. Therefore, Committee Chairman SHIMADA told him that in view of what the Premier had just stated, it seemed that the Government would not act by itself, but that it would act according to the people's will. He asked the Premier if it would be the policy of the Government to act according to the general opinion of the people. In that way a governmental organ would be set up. Can it be understood to mean that this will act as a liaison body and also as an organ that has a bearing on policy? Premier OKADA replied that taking into consideration the facts that have appeared, the actual measures would be given serious consideration. After some more things had been said, SHIMADA asked the Premier if the Government had a clear-cut plan regarding the amount of money it planned to use, or if it had one and had not announced it as yet, or if it did not have one at all. The Premier replied that it plans to get along on the budget that it is trying to obtain, and that it had not made any clear-

cut plans. SHIMADA explained over and over again his interpretation that the Premier was acting in favor of the Seiyukai; so the Premier finally told him that each man will have different interpretations of things said. However, if the interpretation of the Committee Chairman is such that it will not restrict the Government, he would not make an issue of the stenographic notes taken during the Diet meeting. As a result everything was settled peacefully. However, it was not clear whether or not the Committee Chairman had correctly interpreted the Premier's views from the things he said. Therefore the Premier said that although it appears that there is some contradiction, regardless of what the Committee Chairman's interpretation may be, his (the Premier's) statements are exactly the way they appear in the stenographic notes. The Committee Chairman challenged this: "I'd like the Premier to indicate just where the contradiction is. If he can look at the notes and say that the interpretation of the Committee is wrong, the Government has no alternative but to adjourn this Committee meeting until the minutes are compiled. Will the Government be able to demand an adjournment of this meeting when the end of the session is so near?" The Premier was defeated and made his reply accordingly. The dissolution atmosphere of the budget meeting, which was dangerously close to the breaking-point, was gone with one stroke. And the settlement of the problem drew near. The Seiyukai, which had started like a lion, ended up like a lamb, with a resulting increase of very bad publicity for the political parties. It appears that the Seiyukai was thrown into a state of still greater confusion.

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The Seiyukai Outwitted

The Government prolonged the session two days, and at the end of the two days, the budget was quickly turned over to the House of Peers. On the morning of the 9th, the House of Peers completely approved the Government bill, and the special session of the Diet drew peacefully to a close.

On the night of the 9th, the Minister of Home Affairs and KIDO came over, and we talked about various things. I told the Minister of Home Affairs that I had met KONOYE and KIDO the day before, and that we had decided that I should go to Okitsu for about a month for a rest. We also talked about the plans for the future. During the 10th, I met and talked with the Premier, the Foreign Minister and the influential members of the Cabinet. On the 11th I left for Okitsu.

Later KIDO told me that there are unpleasant rumors regarding the story about the internal trouble within the Army which he had heard from the Chief Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty. The fact is that the students of the Military Academy had been cautioned by their instructor not to be pressed into doing anything by the young officers. These students had gone to the officers with whom they were very intimate and accused them of merely flattering them and of proposing things that they had no intention of carrying out. Thus rebuked, the officers had made wild promises and plans. The students returned to the Military Academy and told their instructor about these wild promises. The instructor became alarmed and secretly reported this to the War Ministry. The War Ministry became excited and ordered the suspension of all newspaper articles. There appeared to be nothing

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to worry about in KIDO's story; nevertheless I had heard this story before from the Head of the Military Affairs Bureau. I emphatically told Minister of Home Affairs GOTO that there are some features in the points of view of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police and of myself that differ, and that the Chief's feelings toward General MAZAKI and toward the Head of the Military Affairs Bureau, NAGATA, are completely different. The Minister of Home Affairs told me that we may have to have another meeting of the National Policy Deliberation Council.

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Chapter 160
(20 December 1934)

Washington Treaty Abrogated

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

I stopped over at Oiso on the way and after arriving at Okitsu station at 4:00 o'clock, I went immediately to see Prince SAIONJI, made a general report on the state of affairs before and since the special session of the Diet, and then retired to my lodgings. Very late in the evening KONOYE phoned and said: "Speaker AKITA has finally decided to hand in his resignation and to break with the Seiyukai simultaneously."

About 7:30 a.m. of the 12th, when I had a telephone conversation with UCHIDA, he stated: "It is true that AKITA is withdrawing from the party but it is still doubtful as to when he will take the decisive action. YAMAMOTO, MAYEDA and MOCHIZUKI also have the same intention, that is to break away from the present Seiyukai, but they have no plans of getting together with AKITA. Therefore, the withdrawal from the party of persons other than AKITA is very indefinite at present, even as to the individuals concerned. Thus the Cabinet meeting of the 11th (yesterday) was devoted to two problems, viz., the administrative structure in Manchukuo and its self-government."

I called on the Prince at 9:30 and gave him a detailed report. After discussing various matters I summed up the situation by saying: "The public made all sorts of remarks regarding the SAITO Cabinet, nevertheless his Cabinet was suitable to the times. The fact that it calmed down the general atmosphere is

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proof enough." The Prince retorted: "At the recent meeting of senior statesmen, they repeatedly mentioned the fact that the SAITO Cabinet had accomplished nothing, but I am very well aware of one thing that they did not do, and that is fight. This caused much laughter among those present at the meeting."

When I spoke to KURIYAMA, of the Treaties Bureau, he stated: "At the meeting of the Privy Council to discuss withdrawal from the Washington Treaty Conference, the committee was greatly concerned over the fact that it might result in a naval construction race, and everyone was asking emphatically about that particular point."

Right after supper, a Tokyo newspaper publishing company reported that AKITA finally had withdrawn from the Party, and at the same time had issued a public statement. The following morning, I again left for the Prince's residence about 9:30. Before taking my departure I talked to the Premier over the telephone and he said: "At the plenary session of the Privy Council in connection with the withdrawal from the Washington Treaty Conference, Baron HIRANUMA repeatedly stated: 'Twelve years is too long and meaningless to make the period before attaining parity. Is not approximately five years sufficient?' I'll let Marquis MATSUDAIRA know the details of this, therefore please inquire of him."

Then I had a telephone conversation with Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU who stated: "There was an important request for instructions from Plenipotentiaries MATSUDAIRA and YAMAMOTO, therefore I intend to take this matter up with KIDO and then make connections." There-

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fore I discussed (with the Prince) the news of AKITA's withdrawal from the party on the evening before and Premier OKADA's and Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU's telephone conversations with me. I returned home on that day.

On the morning of the 14th, UCHIDA telephoned: "Vice-Minister of Overseas Affairs TSUBOGAMI has phoned me." Therefore I called TSUBOGAMI and talked to him and he admitted: "I was approached with an offer of the post of Chief of the Kanto Civil Administration Office, but I declined."

Then, as usual I went to Prince (SAIONJI's) place, and discussed various subjects with him. Governor TANAKA and the Chief of the Police Bureau arrived at noon and we had lunch together. We heard a detailed report from the Chief of the Police Bureau regarding the capture and arrest of a youth who had attempted to assassinate the old Prince. In the afternoon I went to visit the Fisheries Experimental Station but I received a phone call from OTA, Ambassador to Russia saying: "I would like to see the Prince as soon as possible." Therefore, I conveyed this message to the Prince to which he replied: "I would rather see him on his way back (to Russia)." Therefore I talked to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the phone and he too thought: "It might be better (for OTA) to see the Prince on his way back to his post, as he would have learned the particulars of various matters by then." So it was decided to postpone the meeting.

On the 15th, I talked to the Minister of Home Affairs at 8:00 A.M. by phone. According to him: "The

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Seiyukai movement is as yet nothing worth mentioning, but when the representatives who at present have gone back to their homes upon their return to Tokyo, or maybe even during their stay in their respective prefectures, discuss the uncomplimentary rumors about the Seiyukai, they may demand the resignation of the President. Thus it seems that the Seiyukai has plans for the management of the Party by an executive board. The bill regarding the administrative structure of the Manchukuo Government passed the Privy Council without any delay."

As usual, I went to Prince SAIONJI's in the morning and spoke of the telephone conversation of GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, with me, and in the midst of our talk, I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and talked with the Foreign Affairs Minister. He stated: "It is a big question whether the Navy will take into consideration the Foreign Ministry's plans, but it seems that the Navy will not carry matters to extremes. To tell you the truth, the general public thinks that the oil problem was the reason that the British Ambassador visited me today, but in reality it was in connection with the London Conference. Everything has been placed in the hands of Koichi (SAIONJI) by KURIYAMA, therefore please obtain the details from him."

In the evening I got a telephone call from General MINAMI's aide-de-camp stating: "The General would like to see the old Prince on the evening of the 17th." Upon notifying the Prince, he graciously consented immediately, and so it was arranged that he meet

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General MINAMI at 7:30 P.M. on the 17th. On the 16th I started off as usual to the Prince's residence, and using the notes which the Foreign Ministry sent to Koichi, I made the following report.

The American plenipotentiaries were expected to leave London on the 17th, but, complying with the wishes of the British, they have postponed departure, and will be leaving for home on a boat sailing about the 29th. Negotiations are being carried out at present but the formal conference is expected to adjourn about the 20th; there are still prospects of carrying on with an informal conference. Therefore, it is the desire of Britain to have the matter of the Imperial Government's abrogation announcement postponed until the 30th or 31st. In the meantime, Britain would like to plan some kind of reconciliation if at all possible. The above was the fervent desire expressed by the British Ambassador in an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs yesterday. Our Foreign Ministry's object is to postpone it (abrogation) until the 24th or 25th, but at present the matter is still under discussion. If this gets to the ears of the United States, the plan will fall through, therefore it is being kept a secret.

America is scheming to rupture the negotiations and intends to transfer the responsibility to the Empire's (Japan's) denunciation of the Treaty, but is being held back from doing so by Britain. Therefore America at present is looking on from the sidelines at Japan's and Britain's attitudes toward the situation. Great Britain, in view of the fact that there existed a great gap between the absolute ratio prin-

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ciples of America and the basic demands of Japan, thought that direct negotiation between Japan and Britain was dangerous; however, she decided, first of all, to carry on a negotiation with Japan.

The above is a wire from MATSUDAIRA. If so, what attitude is the Government going to take as a countermeasure against the negotiation? The first problem to be considered is whether it is possible to break off negotiations on the ground of principle. Second, in the matter of an agreement as to size of the military force and its qualitative restrictions, Britain should indicate by means of a concrete tabular proposal. At the same time, our country (Japan) might present a counter-proposal. So far, Great Britain has not acceded to a satisfactory reduction. The modified figures established during the first meeting between Representatives YAMAMOTO and Admiral CHATFIELD applied only to destroyers -- from 150,000 to 100,000 tons. Thus, our country (Japan) is at present awaiting an opportunity to present once again a concrete private plan. Thirdly, to present ship-building plans for a comparatively short period (about six years), and upon consultation to make pronouncements to each country concerned. Then, upon this basis, along with Great Britain's individual proposal, a maximum limitation could be decided. Pledging resumption of the negotiation on the basis of the above two points, the conference was temporarily discontinued.

The Foreign Ministry intends to push matters, using the above three proposals, but at present they are being discussed with the Naval General Staff Headquarters. If

the three proposals are adopted, the next conference might be convened during the early part of March. Plenipotentiary YAMAMOTO will first return here (Japan) to make his report on the conference as well as for further consultation.

The above is the report on the London Conference.

The message from the Premier to Marquis MATSUDAIRA in particular was: "The bill in connection with the administrative structure in Manchukuo passed the Privy Council, but during its passage, a question was voiced by Committeeman ARAI and he emphatically stressed: 'The striving for national harmony among the people is much more essential than the administrative problems.' Upon talking things over in detail with General MINAMI, I found him to be completely in agreement with the views of the Government, and he will be proceeding to his new post with a firm comprehension, therefore it is a great relief. In the matter of the resignation of AKITA, Speaker of the House of Representatives, there is no activity toward the formation of a new party etc., on the part of the House of Peers, and no one is criticizing him for his actions.

"As for the plans of the Premier in connection with the Diet, he has no plans for dissolution at present; should the Seiyukai split, there is no necessity for it (dissolution), but even if the Party does not split, if the unity continues to be weak as at present, there is no fear and there is no indication that TOKONAMI will budge." Thus the report in general is very optimistic. This too, I reported to the Prince.

As usual, I made my appearance at the Prince's

residence on the 17th and returned home after discussing various subjects, but there was nothing of particular importance. I spoke to NAGATA, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau and to Vice-Ministers SHIGEMITSU and TSUBOGAMI by telephone, but there was nothing in the conversation that was important enough to report to the Prince. About 7:30 P.M., General NIMANI called on the Prince and chatted with him for about two hours. When I reported to the Prince's residence on the following morning, the 18th, the Prince remarked: "Last night General MINAMI came over and we talked for about two hours. His ideas in general concur with mine, therefore I told him that it was bunglesome to employ the policy of sending armed immigrants (soldiers disguised as immigrants), and that Japan should make it her chief aim to lay out capital and use this as a basis upon which to work in conjunction with Manchukuo. I also spoke of the responsibility of Japan to guide Manchukuo in all respects as an independent nation. It seemed that the General understood my desires and happily took his leave."

When I spoke to UCHIDA, Minister of Railways on the 19th by telephone, he said: "I still can't understand UGAKI's true intentions. It seems that SUNADA called on Governor-General UGAKI. I wonder if he has been receiving money from that quarter." Railway Minister UCHIDA seemed quite concerned over the actions of SUNADA and AKITA. MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry, is very much in favor of the National Policy Deliberation Council, but from the very beginning, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI has not seemed to be

very much in favor of it, and if he isn't very explicit regarding the matter, it is very doubtful that it can be carried through."

I made my regular appearance at the Prince's on this day also, and after making the aforementioned report to him, I returned home. When I phoned KURIYAMA on the 20th, he said: "The ordinance to abrogate the Washington Treaty was passed at the plenary session of the Privy Council, therefore it is possible that the Japanese Government will make arrangements to notify the United States Government through Ambassador SAITO after the Christmas holidays."

I started out for the Prince's residence about 9:30, and in the midst of my conversation with him, I called the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the phone, but he had not reported to work yet so I spoke to the Vice-Minister (SHIGEMITSU), and according to him: "At yesterday's plenary session of the Privy Council, Marquis KURODA stated: 'It is all right to take such vigorous steps as to abrogate the Washington Treaty, but it bothers me considerably when I try to figure out how it is intended to deal with this problem in the future.' The Marquis put much emphasis on the above and he also seemed quite concerned over the future of Vice-Minister TSUBOGAMI.

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Chapter 161
(30 December 1934)

New Advisory Organ

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

I talked with UCHIDA, Shinya, Railway Minister, on the 22nd; he said: "The Seiyukai states that if due consideration of the supplementary budget is made, it might take part in the National Policy Deliberation Council. But the Government can only reply to this by stating that it all depends on the actual situation of the moment. TAKAHASHI is naturally in favor of the National Deliberation Council; after consulting Ministers TOKONAMI and MACHIDA, it was decided that an office be established to survey the general affairs of national administration, employing young, competent men to carry out investigations and researches on the actual state of affairs. It is necessary to take appropriate measures in selecting personnel and organizing the offices. TAKAHASHI says: 'We don't want to repeat the mistakes of the Foreign Affairs Investigation Council of the past. By all means we want the matter carried out without political maneuvers!'"

The Government is still assuming a cautious attitude and is maintaining a neutral stand regarding AKITA's words and actions. Later, I spoke by phone with GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, and he mentioned the same facts that Railway Minister UCHIDA had given me.

Over the telephone, HIROTA, Foreign Minister, said: "Today I submitted to His Majesty the details of the Government's instructions to SAITO, Ambassador at Washington, pertaining to the abrogation of the Washington Treaty. I feel that the reaction on the part of America

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will be uneventful. The Government plans to notify the United States on the 27th or 28th. The plan for administrative structure in Manchukuo passed today's plenary session of the Privy Council. Furthermore, I acknowledge the matter regarding TSUBOGAMI." I passed on the above information, intact, to Prince SAIONJI.

On the 23rd, I received a phone call from Marquis MATSUDAIRA stating: "When I met the Premier yesterday, he stated that there was a wireless message from Ambassador MATSUDAIRA in London to the effect that he wanted the abrogation of the Washington Treaty announced to the United States after the American plenipotentiary representatives leave London. We plan to organize the National Policy Deliberation Council; an office will be established with authorities ranking equal with or above the Premier; the budget is expected to be about ¥200,000."

On the 23rd, Dr. MIURA came to the Prince's home to give him a medical examination; therefore I reported a little later than usual and gave him the customary general report. When I spoke to the Premier on the morning of the 24th, he said: "I have received word from Ambassador SAITO to the effect that: 'the State Department of the United States will close for the holidays after the 29th, therefore, I intend to notify the State Department of the abrogation of the Treaty officially on the 29th.' Therefore it seems that there is no alternative but to serve notice on that date. Probably HAMADA of the Seiyukai will be elected Speaker of the House. Today, the upper and lower Houses were convened. There is nothing of special importance." I went to the Prince's residence and made a general report.

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New Advisory Organ

During the morning of the 25th, I talked to KURIYAMA over the phone and inquired: "What is meant by the consultative organ of the Foreign Ministry of which notice has appeared in the press?" To which the reply was: "What appeared in the newspaper article is sheer imagination, for such an organ cannot be formally established according to government regulations. The Foreign Office is setting up an informal organ to counteract the propaganda of the military and to popularize the nation's foreign policy to the general public; at the same time it will act as a liaison organ to familiarize the ambassadors and ministers assigned to foreign countries thoroughly with the affairs of this country.

"As for the Washington Treaty, it is doubtful whether America will inaugurate a preliminary negotiation on it. Will she not launch immediately into the main conference? The negotiation on the Chinese Eastern Railway has been completed between the Foreign Minister and the Russian Ambassador, and at present a bureau chief is carrying on negotiations regarding the technical phase of the guaranty problem."

When I reported to the Prince on these three points he said: "In the first place, has the Foreign Ministry obtained appropriations for it? Ambassadors and ministers sent to various quarters without ample knowledge of national affairs will not be able to perform their duties satisfactorily. Consequently, they must be very well informed on national affairs before assuming their posts.

"In the matter of the type of people to be selected to serve on the National Policy Deliberation Council, it

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is wiser to avoid picking dangerous characters. For if such are chosen, as in the past case of the Foreign Policy Investigation Council, persons like ITO and HIRANUMA will scheme and cause trouble for the Government.

"Finance Minister TAKAHASHI may be all right when a problem concerns finance and economics; but regarding politics, one need not assume that everything he says is absolutely reliable. The Premier should pay due regard to this fact; it is very unwise if he becomes possessed with the idea that everything TAKAHASHI says is dependable." He further stated: "I would like to have the activities of the Army carefully observed by KIDO and reported to me." As I was leaving for Tokyo on the 27th I had called on the Prince on the 26th. On the 27th I stopped over at Yugawara, and on the 28th returned to Tokyo.

Upon my return, I first went to the Foreign Ministry to see the Foreign Minister. According to him: "Military matters and diplomatic affairs should not be discussed by the National Policy Deliberation Council. Yet today's concept of national defense has a very broad connotation; so, for instance, the Council might deliberate on the general mobilization of national resources. Needless to say, important diplomatic matters will not be placed on the agenda of the National Policy Deliberation Council; nevertheless, matters pertaining to trade in the Dutch-Japanese conference will have to be placed before the Council.

"There are about eleven ambassadors and ministers on the reserve list. Up to now, they have not been doing

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anything. Henceforth the Foreign Ministry should have them meet occasionally to consider various problems. They should also be made to tour the nation and to give lectures on diplomatic affairs. It is also vital to arrange to have officials of ambassadorial rating travel abroad to understand world affairs. Just as military aides to His Majesty are sent to the divisions, I am thinking of requesting the Emperor to send chamberlains to the embassies and legations abroad. Nevertheless, before sending out the ambassadors and ministers on the reserve list on a tour abroad on inspection mission, it is my intention to instill in them a thorough knowledge of Japan's national affairs.

"I shall make a statement in the near future giving details on Japan's abrogation of the Washington Treaty, and expressing basic desires for disarmament, in order to let the world know the true feelings of Japan. Many problems will begin to emerge about March of next year. It is necessary to observe China's attitude very carefully. At the same time, there are suspicions on the part of other nations that Japan might deal with China arbitrarily after her abrogation of the Disarmament Treaty. It is my desire to have Japan conclude a treaty directly with China emphasizing China's territorial integrity, and thus to clarify Japan's position.

"I think that the matter under discussion with Russia will be settled within two or three days. Ambassador MATSUDAIRA is at present negotiating in regard to Prince CHICHIBU's attendance upon the 25th anniversary ceremonies of the English King's accession to the throne."

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New Advisory Organ

I met the Premier at his official residence in the afternoon. He stated: "The National Policy Deliberation Council will not infringe on matters pertaining to the Imperial prerogative. It is my desire to have all matters concerning finance and economics referred to the Council. It seems that TAKAHASHI wishes to restrict military appropriations somewhat. Membership (of the Council) will not exceed 15; and I wish to appoint four or five members from both the upper and lower Houses of the Diet. It is also my intention to get together young, capable men in the investigation bureau of the Council.

The Premier continued: "The situation within the Seiyukai is very complicated. The SUZUKI faction is taking a firm stand. The YAMAMOTO and MAYEDA factions want to conciliate the others without any complications. On the appointment of Diet-Directors and other problems, the Seiyukai is embroiled in a quarrel; and the Party is in a turmoil.

"Regarding the Military Academy incident; NAGATA, Tetsuzan, and MINAMI, Jiro, have finally quelled the agitators. They expect to settle the matter by court-martialing the group of persons involved in the incident. However, it seems that the ARAKI-MAZAKI faction is opposed to this action of NAGATA and MINAMI. It seems that the ARAKI-MAZAKI faction is making connections with the Seiyukai, and instigating it to strongly attack the Government. At the same time ARAKI and MAZAKI seem to be helping to create an atmosphere which will impede any attempt on the part of the Government to dissolve the House of Representatives.

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"General MINAMI has said: 'If I see anyone who seems to have had any connection with the May 15th Incident when I go to Manchuria, I shall make him resign.' In general, both the Seiyukai and the Minseito do not desire dissolution of the Diet. By force of circumstances, SUZUKI is taking a strong attitude against the Cabinet; nevertheless, he doesn't want the House of Representative to be dissolved. Therefore, if the Government, under some pretext, increases the budget appropriation by about 20 million yen, the situation can be settled without dissolving the House of Representatives."

On the evening of the 28th, GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, KIDO, and Marquis MATSUDAIRA called on me at my residence and discussed vigorously the great union of the Rightist's Rational National Reconstruction Movement which is using TANAKA, Koken; UCHIDA, Ryohei; and TOYAMA, Mitsuru as figureheads. It seems that Omoto-kyo is considerably involved in this. In the final analysis it boils down to a movement to petition the Throne for the purpose of forming a Cabinet headed by an Imperial Prince.

On the morning of the 29th, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police called and discussed the National Reconstruction Movement of the ultra-nationalists and the conspiratorial movements of Koreans. He stated: "Up to now there seems to be no direct connection between the National Reconstruction Movement (of the ultra-nationalists) and the Military. In the Military Academy incident, five students and the three officers, Lt. NAKAMURA, Lt. OKABE and Captain ISOBE, have been taken into custody; the

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background of the case has not been uncovered. It seems that the Army is going to court-martial them." I requested the Chief of the Metropolitan Police to contact KIDO as well as Marquis MATSUDAIRA during my convalescence. He further stated: "I am not acquainted with Prince KONOYE. Will you please ask him to get in touch with me?" I called KONOYE at his Kamakura residence and asked him to get in touch with the Chief of Police.

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Chapter 162 (a)
(16 January 1935)

Nationalism Astir

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

INUKAI came to lunch at noon on the 30th. Although he did not say anything of importance he mentioned the fact that the younger members of the Seiyukai were trying to push forward a progressive movement to purge the Party.

In the evening MIYAKE made his appearance and he seemed quite concerned about the Shinpeitai Incident. Above all, the names of members of the Imperial Family appear constantly in the preliminary examination of the Shinpeitai Incident. According to him, it is not merely Prince HIGASHIKUNI's name which appears but also those of Fleet Admiral FUSHIMI and Prince CHICHIBU. MIYAKE stated: "The people of Japan have always had complete respect for the Imperial Household, therefore, even if the Princes had no connection with the matter, should there be rumors to the effect that they did, they will bring about very unfavorable results. Consequently, if the general public is allowed to attend the trial, it might result in derivative problems, therefore I feel that the matter should be given serious thought. I surmise that the most appropriate method is to handle it as an insurgency crime, and to have the Supreme Court commit the case for trial. At present, there is enough evidence to prosecute the case as an insurgency crime, and as a result this is the cause of much anxiety on my part. I briefly talked over the matter with the Minister of Justice but his answer was: 'Never mind!', and I answered: 'It is not a matter to be considered so lightly.'" Therefore, I

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encouraged him (MIYAKE) by saying: "Isn't it essential that you talk to KIDO about this", and in this way suggested that he discuss the problem with KIDO.

Then I had a telephone conversation with NAGATA, Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs, and told him to get in touch with KIDO and MATSUDAIRA, and I also mentioned to him the fact that I had already spoken to both of them. Late in the evening MATSUDAIRA made his appearance, and stated that AKITA visited him at his home and repeatedly said: "My intentions are to purge the Party as thoroughly as possible."

On the afternoon of the 31st, I had lunch with KONOYE, KIDO, and MATSUDAIRA at the Tokyo New Grand. After a desultory talk, which lasted for more than two hours, I left for Oiso. After spending New Year's with the family at Oiso, I took them to Okitsu on the 2nd to extend our New Year's greetings to the Prince. On the morning of the 3rd, I again made my appearance before the Prince and made a general report of happenings during my stay in Tokyo. From the afternoon of the 3rd until the evening of the 6th, I went for a rest cure to Sagara.

On the morning of the 7th, I discussed various matters with the Premier by phone, but it seemed that there wasn't anything of importance. The Premier expressed his desire to visit the Old Prince about the 13th or 14th, and he also reported that His Majesty, who had been indisposed, had practically recovered, and that his temperature had returned to normal, but that, in view of the precautions of His attending surgeon, His Imperial presence at the military review had been cancelled. Just about this time, there was occasional secret information

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to the effect that the Korean members of the Dokuritsuto of Shanghai had secretly entered Tokyo and were plotting the assassination of the members of the Imperial Household, the Genro, and the elder statesmen. To be sure, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police was quite concerned over the matter, therefore I for a moment calculated that this was the cause of the cancellation of His Imperial presence at the military review, but that had nothing to do with it,--so said the Premier.

As usual, at 9:30, I appeared before the Prince, and after making a general report, returned home. In the afternoon the Chief of the Prefectural Home Affairs Bureau came to pay a courtesy visit. I read a newspaper article to the effect that the military clique at Dairen had gotten together to discuss policies regarding China; therefore, fearing that it might be injurious to our diplomatic relations with China, I made various inquiries, only to find out that the true purpose of the gathering was to hold a farewell party for the Assistant Chief of Staff.

In a letter received on the 7th from KURIYAMA of the Foreign Ministry, he too stated: "The meeting of the military personnel in Dairen was merely a gathering for the purpose of hearing the Assistant Chief of Staff, who was on his way back to his post, speak on the subject of Government policy and the newspaper played it up very elaborately." He also wrote: "As for participation in the Disarmament Conference, there appears to be a temporary lull since the termination of the preliminary negotiation and Japan's abrogation notice. At any rate there have been no further developments."

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On the morning of the 9th I phoned Railway Minister Uchida and inquired about matters pertaining to the Cabinet Conference. The Railway Minister stated: "Finance Minister TAKAHASHI's receipts and disbursements of foreign exchange were balanced this year, but Manchukuo's 140,000,000 yen were not included. As investing money in Manchukuo is the same as investing it in a foreign country, I desire very much to have the military consult with the Finance Ministry. Moreover, SHIMADA and MAYEDA of the Seiyukai have called on Finance Minister TAKAHASHI individually, and the former declared: 'In order to settle matters peacefully, please supply ¥20,000,000 or ¥30,000,000'," and the latter stated: 'If the government intends to advance the money, it is preferable that it supply such an amount as will make them aware of the shortage. This might be an opportunity to cause a split in the Seiyukai and to remove the SUZUKI faction.' To the former, TAKAHASHI remarked: 'No matter how trivial the amount, it becomes the responsibility of the people in the end, therefore concessions cannot be made so simply.' Therefore, the general trend of the Seiyukai indicates a reluctant attitude toward dissolution. Consequently, on the one hand, there are rumors to the effect that dissolution is quite impossible. The reason for this is that the Minister of War will not sign the protocol for the dissolution of the Diet. That is, if the principal portions of the budget do not pass after the general conference of the budget committee is ended, and the matter is presented before the plenary session, the Army will be badly inconvenienced. As a result, it

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has been determined that the War Minister is repudiating dissolution of the Diet and actions along that line are being carried out in rapid succession." Railway Minister UCHIDA further stated: "I questioned the War Minister directly as to whether or not he would sign the dissolution protocol, to which he answered: 'The former stories are rumors. To be sure, I favor dissolution of the Diet and will countersign.' I calculate that there are indications that ARAKI and SUZUKI and their group might try to get together and do something about the Cabinet."

I spoke to the Minister of Home Affairs by phone and he said: "There is nothing of great importance, but in the near future there will be a gubernatorial change." The Minister sounded as though he were exerting himself to the utmost. On a matter affecting the military I inquired: "Where is the channel which connects the Army and the Seiyukai?" To which the answer was: "NAGATA has established a connection with MIYATA, and ONODERA with SUZUKI." In the matter of admonishing MIYATA, had I been residing in Tokyo, I would have gotten into touch with NAGATA directly, but as that was impossible I phoned KIDO and first warned him. Above all, as it had been prearranged that KIDO and I were to have dinner at MATSUDAIRA's residence on the 11th, I called KIDO's attention to the matter in order to make doubly sure.

On the morning of the 12th, I spoke to the Minister of Home Affairs and he stated: "Generally speaking, it looks as though the transfer of governors will be carried out without any mishap. As for the present National Reconstruction Movement, especially that which concerns

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the Omotokyo is being very carefully observed, therefore do not be concerned." In the matter of the Seiyukai's dynamic motion, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI said: The Government must take a very firm attitude in all respects. Even if dissolution of the Diet is carried out four or five times, the political parties must be purged." The foregoing was spoken with great vehemence. Furthermore, this is absolutely secret, but according to UCHIDA's conversation: "KUHARA of the Seiyukai is being seen repeatedly with the Minseito and is making a supreme effort toward national unity." As a matter of fact KUHARA has sent word to me to the effect that, by all means, he wanted to have Premier OKADA himself act as an intermediary between the two. As for me, I'd like to combine the old Seiyukai and the Minseito into one "ball" by eliminating the KUHARA and SUZUKI factions. In other words, it is my desire to see TAKAHASHI at the head of the old Seiyukai, and I have already spoken of this to Premier OKADA.

At the Cabinet meeting of the 11th, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI repeatedly inquired about the situation in connection with the Japanese mandated islands, stating: "Are you sure that there are no military installations in the harbor reconstruction?", to which the Naval Minister answered saying: "There is nothing of that sort." The Minister of Foreign Affairs also stated: "The Chinese Eastern Railway problem will be settled before long."

Since I still had some time, I discussed various matters with FUKAI, Vice-President of the Bank of Japan. The reason why TAKAHASHI told especially the military: "The funds invested in Manchukuo are in every respect

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foreign investment, therefore they will be reflected in the receipts and disbursements of international trade so that, unless a cautious attitude is taken, they might put us in an embarrassing position," was the fact that he was very much concerned over the matter as an out-right economic problem, i.e. an exchange problem. The Bank of Japan in particular has been familiar with the above problem for quite some time. In short, the disbursement estimates are very great, and if plans to purchase the Chinese Eastern Railway are carried out this year, a large sum of money will be expended on Manchukuo. Besides, the repayment of a foreign loan of 6,000,000 pounds is due shortly. If Japan is not very cautious this year, her exchange will be in a precarious situation. This does not have any direct connection with the political problem, but FUKAI expressed his deep concern over the matter when he phoned me.

About ten o'clock, I reported to the Prince and spoke to him of the general state of affairs. At the same time I told him: "The Premier would like to call on you on the 14th. Do circumstances permit it?", to which he answered, "I have no objection." It was finally arranged that they should meet during the morning of the 14th. Thereafter, I reported to the Prince the general state of affairs which Minister UCHIDA mentioned to me this morning, and returned home.

In the afternoon I received a letter from Marquis MATSUDAIRA which read: "On the 11th, when I met Chief of the Metropolitan Police OGURI, I received the following report: First of all, it seems that the Omotokyo petition movement is being carried out, and, according to the Tokyo

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Organ paper, they have already obtained from 300,000 to 400,000 signatures. It has also been observed that they have reached out to the various affiliated quarters through the medium of the Showa Shinseikai. But it has been concluded that this is not a matter of too much concern. In regard to the petition pertaining to the enforcement of national reconstruction, the seditious portions, for example that which referred to the formation of a Cabinet composed of royalty, have been stricken off. There were signs of considerable anger, and of an attempt to take direct action on the matter, but it ended in a peaceful settlement. The Seisanto seems to have had connections with both of the above cases. As far as the military is concerned, it appears that individuals might have been involved, but it is positive that the military had no direct affiliation with the matter. Therefore I surmise that the plans of the Omotokyo to make a direct appeal are unlikely ever to be carried out. As the behaviour of SATOMI, ----, son of TANAKA, Chigaku, cannot be suppressed it is believed that it is utterly impossible to carry out the original intentions in regard to the national reconstruction petition. It is being carried out with the old members of the Research Institute as a nucleus, therefore there is nothing to worry about which is within the investigative cordon of the Metropolitan Police. Nevertheless, unforeseen and independent incidents, such as the breaking into Okitsu a few days ago, and the Mitsui dynamite incident, are difficult to guard against, therefore they are the cause of much anxiety. Moreover, according to the opinion of the Chief of Police: 'Unless proper reconstruction is planned, it

will be exceedingly difficult to enjoy peace.' Therefore, it will be wonderful if this can be arranged through the forthcoming formation of the National Policy Deliberation Council. It seems that even the Army is more or less showing signs of anticipation in regard to this. I gathered from the Chief of Police's conversation that he does not get along very smoothly with the Chief of the Kempeitai, but he (Chief of Police) mentioned the fact that he gets along extremely well with the Chief (Kempeitai). The above are the details of the report from the Chief of the Metropolitan Police."

On the following day, MATSUDAIRA and I called on the Premier. The Premier stated: "I expect to go to Okitsu about the 14th or 15th. All quarters of the Diet are filled with the atmosphere of evasion of the dissolution of the Diet. At present the Government has no plans for introducing a supplementary budget, nevertheless the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Ministry of Home Affairs have official inspectors dispatched at present. Therefore, depending upon their reports some plan may be formulated after the Diet Session is adjourned. In view of the fact that the Seiyukai may make inquiries in the beginning in regard to the former motion, then use up the period allotted for discussion of the supplementary budget, utilize also the five-day extension, and even try to stretch matters after it is brought into the plenary session of the Diet, if there should be any collision of views during this time, it is quite possible that the Diet may be dissolved. All of the ministers do not have any objections to dissolving the Diet; of course the range of feeling regarding this

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varies according to the individual, but the Government will not dissolve the House of Representatives on its own initiative. It seems that even the political parties are not taking any action at present, but it looks as though the new party movement is slightly active. Premier SUZUKI and KUHARA seem more self-confident,, but KUHARA and YAMAMOTO, Jotaro are still engaged in the movement to merge the Seiyukai and the Minseito. Likewise, AKITA is engaged in an independent movement, and it appears as though he is secretly consulting MOCHIZUKI. At present, his whole aim seems to rest on gathering men of good quality, no matter how small the number." In connection with the petition movement, the Premier had an optimistic view and said: "It might amount to nothing great." The gist of the Premier's conversation was the above.

Then KATSUDAIRA came to make a report of his meeting with GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs. According to it, his view in general is similar to that of the Premier's but, in connection with the National Policy Deliberation Council, he considers that it would be excellent if the investigation bureau could obtain good men and attain its objective. This is the most important matter. In other words, it is supposed to be an agency which studies concrete problems and determines the order of treatment of such problems in connection with the carrying out of national policies from the standpoint of the world as well as that of the whole nation. Because of this significance, TAKAHASHI, Minister of Finance, is very enthusiastic, in fact he seems to be the most eager one. In the beginning there appeared to be some tendency toward

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party maneuvers among the various ministers, but this has completely disappeared today, and it seems that they are in a frame of mind to operate as an organ to carry out the national policy; the Minister of Home Affairs is giving this matter considerable thought from all angles." The foregoing was Marquis MATSUDAIRA's report.

On the morning of the 13th, KIDO called, saying: "I had dinner with the Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs at the home of Marquis MATSUDAIRA, and we had a leisurely chat, but there is nothing of importance to report. Most of the conversation concerned problems previously discussed. Anyway, the talk in general was of a serious nature." This was all he (KIDO) had to say.

On the evening of the 13th, the Premier arrived in Shizuoka and came to Minaguchiya. I had dinner with the Premier that evening and talked to him on various matters until 10:30. Our conversation, in general, was similar to that reported from various quarters up to now and there seemed to be hardly anything new. Especially in the matter concerning the details of the complication within the Seiyukai, it sounded as though he (Premier) were ridiculing the Seiyukai from every point of view. On the morning of the 14th, the Premier reported to the Prince's home and returned after conversing for an hour and a half. He returned to Tokyo on the noon express, Tsubame.

At 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon, I myself started off to the Prince's residence and when I saw him he stated: "As you say, Premier OKADA is very optimistic. Anyway, there is logic in what he says, so it is all right." I told him: "Premier OKADA was amazed at

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your excellent health." As there was nothing of much importance to discuss, I took my leave.

As there was nothing of importance on the 15th, I made my appearance at the Prince's home at 9:30 the next day and phoned UCHIDA, Railway Minister, for a report on the Cabinet meeting to which he replied: "There was much argument on the part of Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and Minister of Commerce and Industry MACHIDA in regard to the big shake-up of the prefectural governors. It seemed that all of the Cabinet members agreed with Finance Minister TAKAHASHI's argument; 'Anyway, to make all of them resign at one crack is very distasteful'."

I also spoke to the Minister of Home Affairs by telephone and he stated: "I intend to advance talks pertaining to the text (regulations) and provisions in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway problem. I think that it will be completed in a very short time. Our representative to the Disarmament Conference, YAMAMOTO, requested permission to return to Japan via the United States, but as the Navy Minister said: 'Return via Siberia', he will return via Siberia. The report to the Throne regarding the foreign policy speech to be made in the Diet will be made in a day or two. After it has been submitted to the Throne, a copy will then be forwarded to Prince SAIONJI. Moreover, as a stern instruction has been sent to the Army stationed in North China by the Minister of War, to the effect that it should not take action which does not coincide with the Government's foreign policy, it is presumed that all will be well." I reported the above to the

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Prince and he said: "I guess that is slightly better than not having the War Minister issue any instructions."

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 162 (b)
(26 January 1935)

Okada and the Parties

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

As Governor TANAKA is finally to be transferred to Nagasaki Prefecture, he came over to exchange greetings and spoke of the situation in Shizuoka Prefecture. He also remarked about the police guard of the Prince (SAIONJI) and of the various problems concerning the Army. Moreover, he expressed his profound regret in leaving this place.

On the morning of the 17th, I called Railway Minister UCHIDA by telephone in regard to the news in the evening paper of the Premier's invitation to dinner of three party leaders--those of the Seiyukai, the Minseito and Kokumin Domei. The papers also mentioned, in connection with the above invitation, that the Chairman of the Seiyukai stated: "If he (Premier) comes over from his side, I'll see him, but I shall not go over from my side. It is unpardonable that he sent his secretary with the message." The foregoing was the reason that I called the Railway Minister, in order to find out the details, and according to him the Premier told MAYEDA and KUHARA: "I am having a dinner party and at that time I would like very much to have the chairman of our rival party attend without fail...." To this, both KUHARA and MAYEDA answered: "It's a very excellent idea, therefore we ourselves will also persuade him." Later, when Secretary FUKUDA went to SUZUKI's place to deliver the invitation, President SUZUKI, without consulting anyone refused point blank. Later KUHARA and MAYEDA

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of the Seiyukai executive group cornered him and said: "At any rate, it is a political matter when you are invited to the Premier's official residence for a formal meeting, therefore our opinions on the matter should be considered and your decision made accordingly. Why did you ever decline the invitation?" As a result, the President now hopes that there is some way to make it possible for him to attend (the dinner).

I reported about 9:30 at the Prince's, and although it wasn't much of a story, I mentioned the above to him. In the midst of the conversation, it suddenly occurred to me that rather than get the story from Railway Minister UCHIDA only, maybe it would be an excellent idea to get the details from INUKAI of the opposite party. Therefore, I called INUKAI from the Prince's residence. It seemed that INUKAI didn't know much, but he repeated rather vaguely what Railway Minister UCHIDA had said. The Prince remarked: "My, it sounds very childish. I just can't understand what it is all about," and laughed over it.

On the afternoon of the 17th, I visited Governor TANAKA of Shizuoka to make a courtesy call, and to thank him for his kind assistance over a long period and then returned home. On the evening of the 17th, KIDO came over for dinner and spent the night. Late on the evening of the 17th, the Foreign Minister notified me that he had received the final draft of the speech on foreign policy to be given at the 67th Imperial Diet session, which had been submitted to the Throne. Such being the case, he requested that it to be shown to the Prince. It was just the morning before, when I spoke to the Foreign Minister

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on the phone that he had stated: "I related to the Emperor the details of the foreign policy speech and His Majesty seemed highly satisfied." The final draft must have come through.

At 9:30 on the morning of the 18th, KIDO met the Prince and talked over various matters and returned home in less than two hours. I spent half a day with KIDO, and he finally left for Tokyo on the train that evening. Then Lt. Gen. NINOMIYA of the Army came to visit me after KIDO took his leave and spent the night at Inaguchiya. Lt. Gen. NINOMIYA gave a general account of matters within the Army. He spoke of the gradual diminution of the power of MAZAKI and ARAKI. Anyway, Lt. Gen. NINOMIYA was the head of the UGAKI faction and as a result had become Ass't Chief of Staff, but was driven out by the divisional commander of the 5th Division, and in the end retired about one or two years ago. However, I heard that recently, the present Minister of War has been constantly seeing Lt. Gen. NINOMIYA privately, and I also learned that the situation of the Army will in most cases be gradually reformed. Then I told him: "It sounds like a dream, and I do not know whether it will ever be realized or not, but if by any chance Governor-General UGAKI should receive an Imperial Command, he must assemble such men as would truly be worthy of an UGAKI Cabinet. If he should make bad choice, or if by sheer misfortune he should be compelled to appoint eccentric men, he might be taken advantage of on this one ground of weakness, and a vigorous anti-UGAKI movement might arise. Considerable personnel should be selected beforehand. However, if by any chance such a thing does

not materialize, i.e. even if the Imperial Command is not given to Governor-General UGAKI, he should never give himself up to despair and lose all incentive to self-esteem. This I would like to advise him as an individual, as well as a public servant."

The following morning, the 19th, I had a phone call from Railway Minister UCHIDA to the effect: "It was finally arranged at noon today that President SUZUKI will have lunch with Premier OKADA." As President SUZUKI from his side remarked: 'It will be convenient if it (the luncheon) is held on the 18th or 19th', the table has turned considerably. Anyway, I (Railway Minister) exerted myself to the utmost to bring this about", were the contents of the conversation. INUKAI also phoned me: "President SUZUKI will attend the Premier's luncheon." At 9:30 I went to the Prince's home, and after reporting the general details of the telephone conversations with Tokyo, returned home. Lt. Gen. NINOMIYA left about 1:30 p.m. by train for Tokyo.

About 2:30 p.m., I received a phone call from Admiral KOBAYASHI's Adjutant and he said that he would call on me about 4:30, so I waited for his arrival. Then in the evening KURIYAMA, Chief of the Treaties Bureau, made his appearance on the evening train. We met and discussed various matters. Admiral KOBAYASHI's Adjutant left early, therefore I had dinner with the Chief of the Treaties Bureau, KURIYAMA, and he returned late in the evening to the Daito-kan. The gist of KURIYAMA's story was: "Foreign Minister HIROTA is going to concentrate his foreign policy on the China Problem." He also spoke of various other situations.

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On the following day, the 20th, when I went to the Prince's place, I mentioned to him that in Lt. General NINOMIYA's conversation at noon of the 19th, he stated that the Navy Minister is getting along very well with SUETSUGU. But, it seems to me that no headway is being made if, after ousting MAZAKI of the Army, he (Navy Minister) is getting on friendly terms with SUETSUGU. In other words, SUETSUGU of the Navy is like MAZAKI of the Army. I also reported: "IZAWA, Takio is selling queer ideas to UGAKI. In other words, he is approaching UGAKI." I also told the Prince that I said: "If by some chance UGAKI received His Majesty's Command to form the next cabinet, he (IZAWA) wished to be appointed as the Governor-General of Korea, but that both Premier HAMAGUCHI and Premier SAITO have had bitter experiences with him, therefore UGAKI should be told that it is wiser for him not to approach IZAWA."

At noon of the 20th, both Admiral KOBAYASHI and Admiral YAMAMOTO insisted that I go over to have lunch with them. Therefore I went to the Fugetsudo in Shizuoka and had lunch with them and returned home about 4:00 o'clock.

On the 21st I went to Oiso, and as Marquis MATSUDAIRA was there from Tokyo, saying that he wanted to see me, I met him there. According to MATSUDAIRA's story: Regarding the particulars of the dinner (misunderstanding) from the Premier's stand-point, KUHARA and MAYEDA, of whom Railway Minister UCHIDA was speaking, were requested by UCHIDA to persuade the President (Seiyukai) to attend the Premier's luncheon on the 17th, but they deliberately dawdled over the matter, and thus caused the President to

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wilfully refuse (the invitation), later complaining and reproaching him in regard to it. In other words, they caused the President (Seiyukai) to make a faux pas and then showered him with criticisms. There are indications that this might be a step to oust the President; in short, I think that the method KUHARA and MAYEDA have of doing things is a malicious one. There are also indications that all of the parties are avoiding dissolution (of the House of Representatives). They are having the Premier emphasize national unity, and to make him take the lead and to go on without dissolution of the Diet seem to be their intentions. So the Premier in fact openly said: 'Such a thing can never be done', and refused those who requested through UCHIDA but, with the intention of carrying out dissolution (of the Diet), he held the meeting with the three party Presidents. I think that the tactics of KUHARA and MAYEDA, designed to find fault with this and, ultimately to oust him, are very unpleasant. The supplementary budget will not be introduced immediately, but there are only ¥7,000,000 in reserve funds today. Therefore, to increase this amount, a certain amount (supplementary budget) might be introduced. After all, even if we were criticized in regard to the dynamite motion, we will never introduce it in connection with that. The committees on rice and silk intend to introduce bills pertaining to the above (rice and silk) written according to the text of the law. But when the rice committee attempted to settle concrete plans that had been settled either in the Educational Investigation Commission or in the special committee meeting of the plenary session, men such as IZAWA rose

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and remarked: 'It is absurd to settle anything without sufficient time', and caused the matter to be postponed for a day. To tell you the truth, the members of the Educational Investigation Commission, especially IZAWA who has plenty of time, should attend the special committee meeting. But without doing this he said outright things such as the above. It seemed that the Premier himself was aware of this unpleasant situation, but the matter was settled amicably." After discussing, in general, the foregoing matter, I took my leave on the 21st and returned to Okitsu. On the 22nd, I gave a general report of my conversation with Marquis MATSUDAIRA to the Prince.

There was a telephone call from Railway Minister UCHIDA in Tokyo on the evening of the 22nd to this effect: "The Premier's speech on administrative policy, the Foreign Minister's speech on foreign policy, and the Finance Minister's speech on finance given at the House of Representatives were excellent. The Premier has become quite proficient in making replies, therefore it is a great relief."

On the morning of the 23rd I spoke of the above matter to the Prince, and as the evening papers mentioned that there were indications that the Japanese troops in Jehol and Chichihaerh were causing commotions, I called the Foreign Ministry and questioned Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU but his reply was: "Well, it can't be serious." And as Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU inquired: "Was there any message to the Prince from WANG CHING-WEI in connection with the Japan-China problem," I answered: "A messenger brought a letter but there was nothing of

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importance in it. Moreover, as the Foreign Minister is negotiating upon his own responsibility, and as the Genro should not engage actively in politics, the Prince did not even exchange civilities."

When I spoke to GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, by phone, he stated, "In connection with the recent big shift (of prefectural governors), MACHIDA and TAKAHASHI have been saying indiscriminately: 'To just resign in body is not very pleasant. As the standard of the graduating year is high, there were no stories to the effect that they are incompetent. Even if the graduating class is low, those who are incompetent are incompetent, therefore it is illogical to use this as a standard for the gubernatorial change.' Then I said: "I expected the Prince to say something in regard to this matter, but he (the Prince) remarked: 'The recent big shake-up (gubernatorial change) of yours was a great success. If it was conducted in such a manner it was truly a very great success.' When I told this to the Minister of Home Affairs, he was greatly delighted, so I mentioned this fact to the Prince.

On the evening of the 24th, I had a telephone call from the political department of the Tokyo Nichi Nichi to this effect: "The plenary session of the Diet--both the House of Peers and the House of Representatives--will not convene tomorrow. YAMAGUCHI, Giichi (of the Seiyukai) was going to impeach TOKONAMI, with the intention of criticizing the Government by using as headlines the scandal of his (TOKONAMI) receipt of 500,000 yuan from CHANG HSUEH-LIANG. At the same time, since the actual facts had already been presented by the Army,

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he calculated on currying favor with the Army, on the one hand, and tried to gain mass applause on the other, but this on the contrary, ended in failure. TOKONAMI's explanation of today was excellent, therefore the sympathy of the general public was directed toward him, and as a result YAMAGUCHI's footing has become very precarious. The Army in particular has stated: 'It was not at all necessary to drag in the Army. The fact that he did so is unforgivable. Furthermore, the above was plotted by one faction of the Army, therefore in reality, the Army as such had no connection with it. Is it not true that one military person was later put on probation?' As a result, the situation was very confused at one time. The behaviour of the military in Jehol is very strange."

On the 25th, I appeared before the Prince and told him the story. On the same day I spoke to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, HIROTA, and the Foreign Minister said: "I don't know what the Army is doing out there. It is really an embarrassing situation. Anyway, I intend to make some inquiries at today's Cabinet meeting." Then I went to the Prince's residence and told him the essential points of the conversation that took place yesterday, and at that time the Prince said: "Upon considering matters, I have come to the conclusion that everywhere, in the Army, there must be a fool who feels ill at ease unless there is something happening all the time. Therefore be it in Britain, in France or in Germany, they cause situations to arise in Africa, Turkey or the Balkans. When I observe the situation, it seems to me that in every country there are such people."

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Then I went out for a walk from the Prince's home, and when I walked as far as Yuki, the old Police Chief came by in an automobile and he came to Okits, as he was returning to Shizuoka. He got out with me and after chatting for a while, he returned home.

On the morning of the 26th, I called the Railway Minister by telephone and inquired about the Cabinet meeting of the 25th, to which he answered: "At the Cabinet meeting of the 25th, the War Minister explained the situation in Jehol with a map. The gist of it was: 'The Chinese Army carelessly mistook the boundary on the Jehol side. It is presumed that this is just a momentary incident which will soon be settled. As far as Chichihaerh is concerned, there have been no reports, therefore the situation of that place is not very clear.' Therefore, the Minister of Foreign Affairs stated: 'As soon as the state of affairs there (Chichihaerh) is known, I would like to be informed.' TAKAHASHI, Minister of Finance, also said: 'It is embarrassing to have countries think that Japan is taking an aggressive attitude. Therefore, I would like very much to have the War Minister, through the medium of a proclamation etc., make the situation clear by letting the true facts of whether or not (Japan is taking aggressive action) be known.' Without anything special being brought up, the Cabinet meeting was adjourned. But this is an absolute secret. In connection with the Seiyukai making some concession, in what is called the supplementary budget which is connected with the dynamite motion, the Premier, up to now, has not mentioned anything regarding the dynamite motion at the budget meeting. If the fact that there is a

necessity is acknowledged, the Government will exert itself to find various ways and means. As a matter of fact, it is unsatisfactory to hold a special session and to cause unnecessary complications, and as there are only ¥7,000,000 in reserve, the reserve fund should be increased. Moreover, we should endeavour to prevent the Army from using it (the reserve fund) by attaching stipulations. In short, the requisition fund has been closed as of 1934, and it has been planned that as of 1936, a permanent measure to cope with the agricultural districts will be provided. Due to the fact that there is nothing appropriated for this purpose for the year 1935, it might be arranged to use the stipulated sum in 1935, and in this way to make it possible to withdraw some money. Due to the fact that the Minseito, Koku-min Domei, and of course the Seiyukai, are all desirous of it, and in view of the fact that the Government is constantly saying: 'It will meet the wishes of the people,' it could easily do that much, and as even the secretaries are opposed to dissolution (of the Diet), I feel that it would be an excellent idea to settle matters this way. When I spoke of this to TAKAHASHI and MACHIDA, they both said: 'If it means compromising with the Seiyukai, we are opposed, but if it does not mean that, we shall not disagree.' I (Railway Minister) had YAMA-ZAKI, and TOKONAMI remain after the meeting and told them the above."

About 9:30, I went to the Prince's residence, and reported the above, upon which the Prince remarked: "Well, after all I shall not insist on such a thing my-self, but I think that it would have been better had

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they dissolved the Diet during the extraordinary session. Under the present circumstances, nothing can be done. Therefore, when there is an excellent opportunity, resolutely dissolve (the House of Representatives). Even if dissolution is carried out, there will not be much change, but it is very inconvenient as matters are, therefore the situation must be altered by dissolution (of the Diet) or by some other means. Otherwise, effecting a break (development) will be very difficult." Thus, as far as the Prince is concerned, avoiding dissolution of the Diet is undesirable.

I went to pay a courtesy call on the governor at 11:00 o'clock, then I went to see the former Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau off at the railway station. When I returned home, there was a telephone call from IWAKURA saying: "Leaving for Formosa and will return before the supplementary budget is sent to the House of Peers." He also said: "I am meeting the Prime Minister tomorrow morning." Therefore I said: "You might tell Premier OKADA not to concentrate on handling matters skillfully, but that, if there is a necessity, he must be a man and have the courage to carry out the dissolution (of the Diet) without flinching." IWAKURA agreed with me on this matter and emphatically said: "The House of Peers should say something when circumstances prove that the attorneys are taking advantage of the situation of the House of Peers in connection with the problem of infringement upon people's rights." There was another telephone call from Tokyo to the effect that Marquis MATSUDAIRA was coming over to talk to me at the request of the Prime Minister.

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Chapter 163
(6 February 1935)

Funds for Farm Reliefs

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

In the afternoon Marquis MATSUDAIRA arrived in Okitsu and he immediately spoke of various opinions in Tokyo: "There are those who say: 'First of all, discontinue depression relief funds as of 1934. From 1936 on, funds for permanent countermeasures to cope with the needs of agricultural districts will be allotted, but there is nothing put aside for 1935.' There are such views as: 'It is all right to draw out some money if there is a temporary necessity.' There are others who want to set up such policies as: 'to determine the essential limit and then increase the reserve fund.' The affair you know of in connection with TOKONAMI's secret document, was a kind of conspiracy engaging a certain army major and a former sergeant-major of the army. Minister of War MINAMI possessed photographs and telegrams, but the present War Ministry does not have any. The War Ministry and the General Staff are indignant over YAMAGUCHI's (Giichi) speech, but rather than attempt to become involved, they are endeavouring to avoid being dragged into the maelstrom. Furthermore, in connection with the Electric Company's bribery affair, etc., it is true that he (TOKONAMI) attended a banquet, but there is no evidence that it involved the corrupt practice which we speak of today." There was nothing of too much importance in the conversation and after I listened to his general report of the situation, the Marquis left.

Moreover, in the evening ARAI of the Tokyo Nichi

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Nichi called me by telephone and said: "On the fourth day of the present Diet session, the interrogation of the Minister of Home Affairs, which began on the first day, was more or less completed. The criticisms of SAITO's (Takao) Army pamphlet are receiving favorable comments from the public. Foreign Minister HIROTA's reply to ASHIDA's query in the House of Representatives, in connection with foreign policy, was: 'During my term of office, there will be no war.' He made this answer very clearly, therefore it brought relief to the minds of all. In the final analysis, the above reply positively dispelled the doubts of the people in regard to the Army's doings in both Jehol and outer Mongolia. These had been termed aggressive or a revelation of Imperialism. Therefore, it seems that even the financial world is greatly relieved."

About 7:00 o'clock on the morning of the 27th, I spoke by phone with the Railway Minister, but it still seems that there is no considerable change. I also had a telephone conversation with the Minister of Home Affairs, and it seemed that, first of all, he was as usual, taking a serious attitude and closely observing the behaviour of the Seiyukai. He also said: "I've already made my final decision."

I next called SHIGEMITSU, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, to inquire about various matters pertaining to Jehol and Mongolia, but I was told: "Both incidents were not very serious." As usual, I went to the Prince's residence about :30. There was nothing, in general, of great importance; therefore I told him of this morning's telephone conversations and then returned home.

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When I spoke to the Railway Minister about 7:30 on the 28th, he said: "In connection with the situation in the Seiyukai, it seems that the conservative faction is making progress, therefore approximately 60 of the die-hard faction centered around HATOYAMA met at the Ryokotei for a conference. Among the 60 were both the die-hards and the conservatives who attended in response to the invitation, therefore it cannot be assumed that all of them were HATOYAMA's men. Generally speaking, the Seiyukai is composed of three groups, namely, those centered around HATOYAMA, the old Seiyukai faction, and the neutrals (NAKAJIMA), who at present are in a state of confusion. A look at the general budget meeting indicates attendance from sheer obligation, and due to disputes within the party their minds are not on the budget. In short, the details will not be known very clearly until about February 11th.

Then, in order to inquire about matters pertaining to foreign policy, I telephoned KURIYAMA, Chief of the Treaties Bureau, and he remarked: "Yesterday the Chinese Minister called on the Foreign Minister and repeatedly said: 'It is my earnest desire to have both countries make mutual gestures of Japanese-Chinese amity.' Therefore, it can be said that the Jehol and Chichihaerh problems have been settled. Plenipotentiary YAMAMOTO from the Disarmament Conference, in any case, will return shortly, and so, after consulting him upon his return, I (KURIYAMA) shall call on you at Okitsu." Saying this, KURIYAMA hung up. I next called the Chief Secretary to inquire into the state of affairs and his reply was: "Extremely calm."

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About 9:30, I went to the Prince's home, and reported to him on the situation as it was presented to me over the phone, and after discussing various matters of a general character, I returned home. On the following morning I again called Railway Minister UCHIDA, but there was nothing of great importance. Then I also spoke with the Minister of Home Affairs, and he remarked: "Dissolution of the Diet is desirable unless it is a justifiable act. Anyway I (Minister of Home Affairs) would like to conduct matters prudently. I do not desire to make a mess of things. Therefore, in case the Diet is dissolved, the attitude of the Army should be carefully observed." I then told GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs: 'At a time like this, there is a question whether it is wise for you to concentrate only on carrying out matters proficiently, or whether you should take an attitude constructively to bring about a conciliatory atmosphers.' To this, the Minister of Home Affairs assented: 'I heartily agree with you.'"

Then I, as usual, went over to the home of the Prince about 9:30 and spoke to him of the foregoing conversation. Next, I phoned Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU from the Prince's room in regard to the newspaper article on the China problem, and his answer was that the China problem was not in the advanced stage indicated in the newspaper, and also that he was observing this matter with caution. (According to SHIGEMITSU), the Chichihaerh and Jehol incidents are not very serious and are exceedingly local problems. After talking over various matters, the Prince, in a discussion on numerous education problems, remarked:

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"To tell you the truth, in the first years of the Meiji Era, Count FUKUSHIMA, Prince ITO, and others including myself, got together to discuss the educational problems of our country. At that time, there were two opinions, namely: There were those who argued: 'it is preferable for each locality to have its own special, dissimilar education, specially adapted to the locaility. That is to say, have an educational system that is adapted to the localities such as Kagoshima or maybe Yamagata, and let each have distinguishing characteristics', but I myself asserted: 'it is essential that we have an educational system which is nationally uniform and standardized.' The reason for this was that my observation of society at that time revealed reciprocally: 'What is good about your feudal clan?' or: 'Our feudal clan is so and so.' In this way, there was, in the tiny country of Japan, a custom of each holding to his own sphere of influence, As I felt that this was intolerable, and in order to consolidate Japan into one, I advocated standardization. Moreover I extolled unification, as I was aware of the fact that it was essential to establish a basis for international development. Reflecting on this matter later, and upon observing the situation after the establishment of political parties, I found that it was much easier to destroy individual independence in a political party than to do so in the educational system. For example, just as the Seiyukai members could be unified by the Party itself, from a corner of Hokkaido to the tip of Kyushu, I keenly felt that regional isolationism within Japan could be destroyed more effectively by the appearance of

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political parties." He earnestly told the foregoing story.

About 8:30 of the 30th, I conversed with Railway Minister UCHIDA, and he said: "The conservative faction of the Seiyukai is gradually increasing in number, and as a result the die-hards went to the President (Seiyukai) to request his judgment on the matter, but the President did not make any decision and remarked: 'Please get KUHARA's opinion.' When I (Railway Minister) went over to KUHARA's place, he said that because of the fact that he is considerably involved on the other side too, and had made promises, it was impossible for him to give an answer. In short, he (KUHARA) feigned illness and did not meet those who came to see him."

At noon I received a phone call from Marquis MATSUDAIRA saying: "The other day I (MATSUDAIRA) met the Premier and discussed various matters with him, and when I said that he should take a firm attitude, he answered: 'By no means have I done anything, but of course I believe that I should carry out a justified dissolution of the Diet.' As such was the attitude I reported the above situation to the Prince, and I also talked on the phone with MORISHIMA, the Foreign Ministry Asia Bureau's 1st Section Chief, and asked questions in regard to the China problem. He (MORISHIMA) replied: "It will require much time for the China problem to crystallize. The Army declares: 'If anti-Japanese (sentiment) ceases, amity is attainable.'" Saying: "The army might yield this time," he (MORISHIMA) hung up. I reported these stories to the Prince and returned home.

On the morning of the 2nd I again called Railway

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Minister UCHIDA, and as the newspapers of the 1st carried an item to the effect that President ADACHI called on President SUZUKI, I inquired about the state of affairs. Railway Minister UCHIDA stated: "I do not know exactly what President ADACHI proposed. I think I shall go over now to find out the details. It is said that there was a meeting of the leaders of the Seiyukai last night, but it seems that the meeting adjourned without anything definite being accomplished."

Then I called MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry by telephone and inquired: "What on earth are the reasons for the proposal of ADACHI of the (Kokumin Domei)?" The Minister of Commerce and Industry answered: "It is, so to speak, for the sole purpose of magnifying the importance of the Kokumin Domei, for if he actually has the intention of doing anything, there are many other ways in which he could do it. That is really nothing of importance. In connection with the 600,000,000 yen three-year agricultural district relief (program), and problems regarding the protection of medium and small industrial workers, neither the Seiyukai nor the Minseito can favor it wholly, therefore, it cannot be serious."

Marquis MATSUDAIRA phoned saying: "I met Major-General NAGATA, Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs. Naturally, the Army is in favor of purging the political parties but I do not think that the military personnel will take an active part in connection with the dissolution of the Diet. But the ex-soldiers might assist in the election by advocating: 'Vote for the right man!' Anyway, the Army is anticipating dissolution of the Diet or a split

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in the present political party in order that a new atmosphere may be created. (the above) was what I (Marquis MATSUDAIRA) heard from Major-General NAGATA when we met at my home." That was the reason why he (MATSUDAIRA) phoned me.

Then I called the Foreign Minister on the phone, but he also said: "There is nothing of particular importance for me to mention in connection with matters dealing with diplomatic affairs today. MASHIMA, the man in question, has moved discreetly according to WANG CHING-WEI's wishes, and the Mongolia problem bears the same characteristics as the MASHIMA Incident in Korea, being therefore local in nature. Moreover, there is no use bothering about this now."

I put together the above stories and reported them intact to the Prince.

On the morning of the 3rd, I phoned Railway Minister UCHIDA, and I learned that he (Railway Minister) was quite provoked at the degraded attack of Representative TSUGUMO. Then I spoke to Premier OKADA on the telephone and he said: "The question in regard to the disposition of the Government in connection with the dynamite motion, which had been brought up at the general budget meeting, was again asked, therefore the explanation to be made in connection with the above must be determined at the Cabinet meeting." The foregoing was the Railway Minister's conversation.

Then I called Minister of Home Affairs GOTO, and Minister of Commerce and Industry MACHIDA by telephone, but they had nothing much of importance to relate. Only: "There was hardly any response in connection with the

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rock which was hurled by President ADACHI." I said: "Baron HIRANUMA as representative of the town and village councils, has begun to take action. Could there be some connection between this and the recent affair of ADACHI?" To this MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry remarked: "There might be, to some extent."

When I spoke on the phone with the Chief of the Treaties Bureau in the Foreign Ministry, he said: "The trade conference of Great Britain and France in short means: 'Save the face of Germany,' therefore I believe that it is impossible to have it develop into anything. As YAMAMOTO, representative to the Disarmament Conference, is returning to Tokyo about the 12th, I shall talk to him at length, and shall call on you at some future date. Since the United States has rejected the invitation to join the Court of International Justice, it seems that the United States does not want to become affiliated with European affairs." With this we ended our telephone conversation. I went to the Prince's residence and returned home after giving him a general report of the above.

On the morning of the 4th, I again phoned Railway Minister UCHIDA and he stated: "The Government has contended against making any mutual compromises. Should there be anything that can be moved up about 3 years, it will be arranged for today, and put into execution. In connection with the decision pertaining to the Tohoku-Shinko-Kai, we intend to unite our efforts, and after consulting the senior statesmen, the Government would like to find a logical way to make expenditures possible." The foregoing was what he (UCHIDA) said.

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I next talked with Premier OKADA on the telephone and he remarked: "In a day or two, I am planning on having the Government make up its mind, and when the decision is made, I shall immediately have MATSUDAIRA notify you." I also spoke by phone with GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, and he stated: "The Seiyukai is practically divided into four parts, and there is no nucleus to contend with. Aside from dealing with the aftermath of the dynamite motion, the Government is taking an independent stand which is logical, and intends to put it into practice."

I also talked with the Minister of Commerce and Industry, and he too spoke in an unconcerned manner, saying: "Oh that'll be determined in a day or two." I also inquired of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs in regard to the Mongolian situation, and he answered: "Being a local problem, it will not develop any further, and as for the Jehol affair, we were finally able to settle it. Then too there appeared in the newspaper the fact that America is sending a delegation to Japan with FORBES, former Ambassador to Japan, as the head. As a matter of fact, fundamentally speaking, America took over all of the silver in China and caused a panic in China, and at the same time ill-feeling among the Chinese people. Therefore, they are coming over to attempt conciliation. SAWADA of New York was quite concerned over the matter and warned (the delegation): 'If you are going to China, do not pass through Japan without stopping.' As a result, they are going to make stop-overs in Japan, and also in the Philippines, to observe everything, but this is of no great importance."

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Later KIDO phoned: "According to HASHIMOTO's (Sanehi) report, the state of affairs between the Government and the Seiyukai is 50--50." Using mainly the foregoing matter, I made my report to the Prince.

On the morning of the 5th, I again spoke by phone with Railway Minister UCHIDA, and according to him: "Finance Minister TAKAHASHI intends to persist in carrying out matters with only the reserve fund, and is absolutely against the supplementary budget. MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry, is opposed to this (and his stand is,): 'Regardless of the expenditure, let us by all means carry out matters in all respects with a supplementary budget.' As opinions are divided, I called on both TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister, and MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry, before the Cabinet convened. TAKAHASHI made a request saying: 'Please find out the circumstances leading to OKAZAKI's (Kunisuke) call to see me yesterday.' When I saw the report on the investigation of the person who sent the mystery document in regard to TOKONAMI, I was clearly convinced that it was done with the knowledge of the Kempeitai. Moreover, it also became obvious that KUHARA was sheltering the suspect. Therefore the Minister of Justice was very indignant." The foregoing was what Minister UCHIDA had to say.

Then I called KURIYAMA by phone and inquired: "Is the newspaper article, written by the President of the International Tribunal at the Hague, to the effect that Ambassador SUGIMURA is going, true?" His answer was: "No, it won't be Ambassador SUGIMURA, but, through the recommendation of Dr. TOMII, it seems likely that

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Ambassador NAGAOKA will be the one." Due to such an event, I, as usual went to the Prince's residence about 9:30, and after reporting the above circumstances, returned home.

Late on the eve of the 5th, Marquis MATSUDAIRA called me on the phone saying: "Due to a sudden request of the Premier this evening, I would like very much to come over (to see you)." I said: "I'll expect you." I waited and he finally arrived in Okitsu a little after 11:00 o'clock, and came over immediately to my place. He gave me the details of the Premier's message: "I (Premier) will consider if it is a matter of about 15,000,000 yen, but I doubt very much whether the Seiyukai will be satisfied. Therefore, in case they are not, my intentions are to carry out the dissolution of the Diet. At the general budget meeting to be held on the afternoon of the 5th, I intend to make a reply to SHIMADA's question of a few days ago. I shall make a declaration that something definite must be done, but I cannot say when; in this way, I shall make an answer. The case of TOKONAMI seems to have been the scheme of KUHARA and MAZAKI combined. There are indications that all of the material passed through the hands of the MAZAKI faction and was then forwarded to KUHARA by the Chief of the Tokyo Kempeitai. Anyway, as this matter is under the jurisdiction of the Minister of War, nothing can be done about it. Fellows such as TSURUOKA and YAMANASHI are definitely being sheltered by KUHARA. Therefore, the opinion of the die-hard faction is: 'If the foregoing method of attack on TOKONAMI proves ineffective, commit the matter to the Inquiry Committee. If this should be referred to the

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Inquiry Committee, the Government will carry out the dissolution of the Diet. Even if I should be asked to account for the nomination of TOKONAMI to the Emperor, I will not recognize the allegations which have been made. He (TOKONAMI) had become a Minister of State in INUKAI's Cabinet, therefore it is only natural that I submitted TOKONAMI to the Throne as Minister." My (Premier) intentions are to defend myself by saying the above." (MATSUDAIRA stated:) "The War Minister and the Premier secretly met at the official residence of the Premier a little after 12:00 o'clock two nights ago, and the Premier spoke earnestly to the War Minister saying: 'The conspiring influence within the army must be removed.'"

The foregoing was the report which Marquis MATSUDAIRA was requested to bring (from the Premier). Moreover, I talked to Railway Minister UCHIDA on the phone and he said: "The call which OKAZAKI, Kunisuke made on Finance Minister TAKAHASHI in compliance with the request of SUZUKI, President of the Seiyukai, was due to the President's (SUZUKI) utmost desire for the approval of the budget estimates. Therefore, if the Government at this time puts forth its effort to raise the necessary 40,000,000 yen, the Seiyukai will be reconciled. This 40,000,000 yen is the sum said to have been estimated to be needed by MOCHIZUKI, SHINADA, MUNEDA, and YAMAMOTO, Jotaro. Thereupon, TAKAHASHI, Minister of Finance, told OKAZAKI: 'To determine the sum is not very desirable. Won't it be all right to withdraw the required amount when the necessity for it arises in September or October--the time

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of the year when the weather is most inclement?' As for a supplementary budget, TAKAHASHI seems to be still opposed to it, but it appears that MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry, will finally favor the increasing of the reserve fund." According to Railway Minister UCHIDA; 'The Railway Ministry has 8,000,000 yen of work which was scheduled to be undertaken three years hence. All the Government has to do is somehow to furnish the remaining 20,000,000 yen. Then it will come close to what the Seiyukai demands. I presume matters will be more definite about the 9th.' Moreover TOKONAMI, Minister of Communications, has proposed: 'If my situation inconveniences the Cabinet, I (TOKONAMI) would like to resign', but I (UCHIDA) dissuaded him from doing so. The Premier also said: 'If there is no truth in the matter, it is not necessary for you (TOKONAMI) to resign', and remonstrated against his resignation."

When I made a general report of the above to the Prince, he said:

"Even if you wait until the 9th or any number of days, it won't make any difference. Unless they do things more consistently, basing them on the provisions of the Constitution, one can't understand what they are doing. It is because of this that the young officers of the Army are saying this and that, and I feel that it is inevitable."

So saying, he heaved a sigh. "Anyway, it will be very awkward if they decide to wash their hands of the matter by dissolving the Diet without any non-confidence vote; rather than that, it might be better not to have

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any dissolution. However, it would be splendid if they carry out the dissolution of the Diet after making a firm decision. Anyway it is very perplexing unless they do things on principle." The above was the way the Prince spoke. "Please remember me to the Premier," was his request.

Then to MATSUDAIRA I mentioned the sigh of despair of the Prince. MATSUDAIRA left in the afternoon.

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Chapter 164
(15 February 1935)

Fuss Budget

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

I spoke on the phone with UCHIDA, the Railway Minister, the following morning; he said: "TOKONAMI is said to have no connection with the 50 thousand Yuan (Chinese dollar) Scandal Incident in which he was supposedly involved. The Government, trusting Communication Minister TOKONAMI's words (that he was not involved in the incident), is confident on this point. I believe that the information leaked from the Kempei (Military Police). Reports from the Public Procurator's Office are passed on to the War Ministry; by some chance the information must have leaked out. There is something fishy about the fact that the election campaign chief, residing in Kawasaki, of President SUZUKI (arch-rival of TOKONAMI in the Seiyukai), is the elder brother of the Public Procurator who investigated the incident. GOTO, Home Minister, said: 'The various activities of MAZAKI, Jinsaburo (General) and KUHARA, Fusanosuke (a leader of Seiyukai) seem to be a movement for concerted action,' and he seemed to be taking precautions against them."

In the morning I, as usual, started off for the residence of the Prince. When I related what I had heard yesterday from MATSUDAIRA, and the talk I had this morning with the Railway Minister, Prince SAIONJI said:

"After all that must be the truth of the matter."

As I felt that I had overemphasized the message to the Premier (from the Prince) in regard to the dissolution of the Diet, I immediately called the official residence

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of the Premier directly from the Prince's room and asked that MATSUDAIRA, who was in conference, come to the telephone. Thereupon, I said: "In case the Premier is hesitant about dissolving the Diet, there is no necessity of criticizing him, as I calculate that it would be a great disappointment to the nation to reverse the control of the Army, which is now on the verge of being reorganized, by dissolving the Diet. Please bring out this point very clearly when you speak to the Premier." MATSUDAIRA acknowledged what I said and hung up.

The Prince also remarked: "That was very good of you to warn him." He (Prince) had been sitting beside me listening to the telephone conversation.

On the morning of the 7th, GOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, called me on the phone saying: "Viscount ODA said that he was going to call on you, therefore I requested him to handle some business for me. As it is an urgent matter, I asked him to leave a day earlier, on the 8th." On the 8th, ODA arrived, and informed me of the Minister of Home Affairs' message which, in general, was a report of the situation up to the present, with which I was generally familiar. Then I again spoke with the Railway Minister on the telephone, and he said that he was strongly in favor of dissolving the Diet. He also said something to the effect that he was a member of the die-hard faction. Then I conversed on the telephone with the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and he expressed his hopes saying: "The Government should proceed fair and squarely, without being too dexterous."

There was a letter from MATSUDAIRA which read: "I

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met the Premier on the morning of the 7th and talked to him on various matters, finding that there were many points on which he deserved sympathy. According to the Prime Minister: 'Regardless of what people may say, effecting a political settlement is very difficult at present. Already, there is no other way of settling the matter unless it is done in a business-like manner. If the foregoing action is taken, the Seiyukai itself might endeavor to avoid a head-on collision. If things should turn out like this, I shall go on, but should there be a collision, dissolution of the Diet might be unavoidable. There is nothing else I can do but to leave the consequences to the Genro. The dissolution of the Diet is not the unanimous wish of the Cabinet members. Therein lies the trouble. When a general election is held, ministers from the ranks of the political parties must work very hard, but it is not within my power to exert myself along that line. Nevertheless, as long as the Cabinet itself cannot truly attain complete cooperation, matters of importance which are discussed will leak out. Therefore there is nothing I can do but endeavor to make a business-like settlement and go as far as possible. I have no self-confidence as to the future. When I speculate upon the reactions of the Cabinet members in regard to dissolution of the Diet, I surmise that everyone, with the exception of YAMAMOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry will agree with me. Therefore, if by any chance the Diet were to be dissolved, there is nothing I can do but to utter words to that effect when the opportune moment arises. It appears as though KUHARA and MAZAKI are going to launch

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a corruption scandal against Finance Minister TAKAHASHI, Army Minister HAYASHI and Railway Minister UCHIDA. What I fear is that if they (KUHARA and MAZAKI) become powerful, it might result in their success in passing the budget, and they might later promote criticisms of individuals, and although they might not sponsor an outright non-confidence vote, they might carry out the campaign by using such tactics on the floor (of the Diet) as making replies which would indicate an atmosphere of non-confidence. If this happens, there'll be no good excuse for the dissolution of the Diet." Although their action might be indirect, should the expression of non-confidence be great, dissolution of the Diet might be carried out as in the case of the Inquiry Committee, but of course this is a questionable matter. The Army says the following in connection with War Minister HAYASHI: 'Due to the elections, he (War Minister) might become a little unsettled in his ideas but he could be suppressed.' I, too, practically think the same. Thus, it seems that the War Minister is in favor of dissolving the Diet. If an election is held the opposition between the Army and civilians on the ratio between military expenditures and agricultural funds will be more or less revealed by speech and action. There are those who fear the development of an atmosphere similar to that before the May 15th Incident, but War Minister HAYASHI was saying: 'Despite the fact that there might be some occurrence, we'll be able to bridge over the situation.'" Thereupon MATSUDAIRA wrote: I have differentiated

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between the Prince's message and the conversation which took place betwe the Prince and yourself and by doing so, have conveyed the Prince's views to the Premier.

Moreover, MATSUDAIRA continued: "The Premier himself expressed his predicament over the fact that there are many who attach great importance to these differences of opinion within the Cabinet and other personal circumstances, and he lamented over this. Moreover, if dissolution of the Diet is carried out, and if a general election held and things are not handled correctly, there might be added apprehension regarding the coming visit of the Emperor of Manchukuo, which might result in difficulty over the matter of precautions, etc. The Premier expressed his concern over this danger. In connection with a business settlement, the problem involving the second reserve fund has been brought up, and Minister TAKAHASHI has said: 'The future seems very unpromising with only the present reserve fund, and since its increase is being handled by the ideas of the Government itself, there should definitely be a little more (reserve fund) in readiness for some unexpected future incident. Furthermore, should there be a sudden necessity of expenditures to be accounted for, an extraordinary session could be called. Let us go on this!' The foregoing was the Finance Minister's idea. But as for the Minseito, even if the Government, in its own discretion, increases the reserve fund, it will be looked upon as a dynamite motion political settlement, and, moreover, the Seiyukai might take a stand to win

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over in that manner. If this should take place, it will leave a dark shadow on the future government, therefore it would be unpleasant. But on the other hand, to make one's own party (Minseito) have the advantage over another at the general election, they are not demanding the amount the Seiyukai is asking, but are planning to confront the general election by asking for numerous expenditures of various kinds."

The foregoing was reported to me by MATSUDAIRA, and when I read it verbatim to the Prince, he said: "I understand very clearly. In that case I'll have you phone Tokyo immediately and have MATSUDAIRA go over to the Premier's. The message (to the Premier) will be: "I understood the details of the Premier's story but anyway, as far as I am concerned, it would be all right at all events to let at least the budget pass through. If problems should arise later, a counter-measure could be contrived. Anyway, above all, it might be a good idea to determine to let the budget go through." MATSUDAIRA was asked to deliver the foregoing to the Premier.

Moreover, KIDO telephoned: "Secretary OKUBO came over to the home of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and stated: 'Even if the budget goes through, there's nothing the Government can do should Minister TOKONAMI be placed before the Inquiry Committee. Therefore, please consider the subsequent result, (The foregoing) was such a pessimistic report that The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: 'It is too delicate a matter for me to encourage the Government, therefore I would

like to have the Prince himself encourage the Premier.'"

I delivered the message intact to the Prince and he answered: "Anyway, this morning I sent a message to the effect: 'It would be sufficient if the budget alone is made to pass through,' therefore that's enough."

The Cabinet meeting convened about 6:00 o'clock and ended about 12:30 in the evening. The Government definitely answered: 'It will supply 15,000,000 yen as a supplement to the 2nd reserve fund, and everything was settled with the understanding that matters will be carried out on this principle alone.' After 12:30 o'clock, I received telephone calls from various sources giving me the above report.

On the morning of the 9th I spoke on the phone with UCHIDA, GOTO and KIDO, and discussed various matters with them, and they said: "If the Premier offers 15,000,000 yen at the general budget meeting, the Seiyukai will take two days to determine the party's decision and then make clear its stand on the matter. But on the whole, it (the budget) is expected to go through." The foregoing was the gist of the phone call on the part of the Government. I spoke of this to the Prince, and on the morning of the 10th when I called the Premier, he had a very optimistic attitude and stated: "I'll push matters through to the limit."

According to Railway Minister UCHIDA: "The conservatives within the Seiyukai are exerting themselves to the limit." Minister of Home Affairs GOTO also stated: "The future seems full of hardship." But the opinion on the whole seems to be: "It could be pushed

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through." KONOYE also called by phone and said: "Minister of Home Affairs GOTO seems quite concerned over the difficulties of the future."

On February 11 Railway Minister UCHIDA called me on the telephone and stated: "The Seiyukai is finally letting the budget go through, but how to give credit to the die-hards is a problem." On the 12th I spoke with UCHIDA, Railway Minister, and he said: "I intend to bring up for discussion at the Cabinet meeting, the counter-plan in regard to the subsidy matter." Minister of Home Affairs GOTO repeatedly said: 'In spite of everything, the Seiyukai and the Minseito will concur and bring up the subsidy matter, and also make the budget go through, but they might attack the Government in regard to the matter of dealing with official discipline.'

Then on the 11th and 12th I went as usual to make a general report to the Prince, and, on the morning of the 13th, spoke to the Premier on the phone. His (Premier's) comment was: "Well, generally speaking, all is well." I also spoke to UCHIDA, Railway Minister, and KODAMA, Minister of Overseas Affairs, and they too declared: "Taking all things into consideration, no doubt everything is all right."

On the 14th, UCHIDA informed me of the following: "On the evening of the 13th, at the general budget meeting, the original bill, without any revision, was approved and passed by the House of Representatives, and it will be brought before the plenary session."

On the afternoon of the 14th, MATSUDAIRA came

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over with some news to this effect: "YAMAMOTO (Jotaro) and MAYEDA of the conservatives exerted themselves to the utmost (in connection with the passing of the budget). SHIMADA and SUNADA also made every effort to help, therefore, toward the end, the general budget meeting was very pleasant. HATOYAMA of the die-hard faction, and others, tried at the last minute to have a recess once again and stir up matters, but due to the discretion of SUNADA, Chairman of the committee, the meeting was continued without any recess and a decision reached. All this was made possible through the great efforts of SHIMADA and SUNADA. As long as the budget was passed in favor of the National Policy Deliberation Council, it is our intention to gather as many men of ability as possible to do the work. At this time, the fact that the National Deliberation Council is in all respects not an implement to be controlled by political parties should be made clear. In the final stages of the general budget meeting, the President's faction intends to vote against it, but KUHARA is planning to make it (budget) go through, and to attack the Government in some other way, but in reality, KUHARA himself is scheming the downfall of SUZUKI rather than opposing the Government. That he is aiming for the position of the next President of the Seiyukai is his true feeling of today, therefore, he is in the act of endeavoring to oust SUZUKI rather than the Government. As YAMAMOTO, Jotaro and his faction have the intention of supporting the Government to the end, these three factions are pitted against each other within the Seiyukai. Therefore, the budget was finally

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approved, but until it was passed, the attit de of the Seiyukai was, as KUHARA said, to let at leas' the budget go through. Later, the weak-kneed faction me: at YAMAMOTO's place, while the die-hards and the executive members met at t: President's residence to cl ar up doubtful points. The meeting at the President's residence was adjourned after it was decided to let the budget pass through by all means. But late that night HATOYAMA and members of his faction visited the ho me of the President, thoroughly advocated their unyie ding stand, and finally made him (the President) a budget - staller again. Due to the fact that these matters be - came very involved, the weak-kneed faction met on the 2nd floor and the die-hards on the ground floor of the Sanryokutei in Shiba and a heated discussion was carried on. The matter was finally settled with an understanding that the budget could not be passed. But the significance of the meeting lies in the fact that for the sake of protection both factions carried side arms.

"Moreover, in the final analysis: "The reason why President SUZUKI transferred once again to the weak-kneed faction is said to have been NAKAJIMA's (Chikuhei) reasoning: 'The budget must be passed. If it is not, it will result in a barrier between the army and the civilians.' At that time, it is presumed that NAKAJIMA, Chikuhei was very much concerned over an economic fascist movement in a certain quarter. Anyway, the above is the inside situation of the Seiyukai. 'The next problems of the Government to be considered will be the profits tax and debit bonds. Perhaps these

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may result in the holding of a conference representing the two Houses (of the Diet),' the Premier stated very concernedly. He continued: 'In connection with the question of official discipline, TOKONAMI's case is out of the question. But if they should make it into a case of public criticism, it is thought that President SUZUKI will also be involved. Besides, the wireless message from TOKONAMI to HAYASHI, Minister of War, cannot be of much importance.'"

About 6:00 p.m. of the 14th, there was a wireless message to the Prince from the Government, and I also received a telephone call to this effect: "The budget passed the House of Representatives and was forwarded to the House of Peers." Therefore the Prince answered the wire of the Premier and offered his hearty congratulations.

I spoke to the Premier by phone on the morning of the 15th and said: "The Prince was very happy over the passage of the budget in the House of Representatives. Moreover, the Seiyukai faction and its opponent, and a certain portion of the members, might cause mischief from now on, therefore if there is anything the Prince can do to help, please do not hesitate to ask." The Premier replied: 'Well, there shouldn't be anything of too much importance occurring henceforth,' and as usual spoke in a very optimistic manner.

I then called the Vice-Minister of Finance, and as sometime ago I had an inquiry after the (Prince's) health from Finance Minister TAKAHASHI through Railway Minister UCHIDA, I informed Vice-Minister TSUSHIMA.

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"The Prince's health has imporved very much recently but he is avoiding meetings with people. He is always concerned over the well-being of the Finance Minister. He also regrets the disgraceful behavior of the casual political parties that have made their appearance in the present Diet session. The Prince seems to have the feeling that, if adequate reasons could be found, it would be preferable to dissolve the Diet in order to make the situation clearer. Anyway, even if dissolution of the Diet cannot be accomplished due to various circumstances, at any rate, please convey to him (TAKAHASHI) the fact that (the Prince) was very much relieved at the passage of the budget bill. At 9:30, I reported to the Prince's residence and returned home after reporting yesterday's conversation with MATSUDAIRA and today's telephone conversation with the Premier.

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